

THE “CONDER” TOKEN COLLECTOR’S JOURNAL

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE “CONDER” TOKEN COLLECTOR’S CLUB

Volume VII Number 3 Fall, 2002 Consecutive Issue #25

Godiva’s Ride Made Coventry Toll-Free

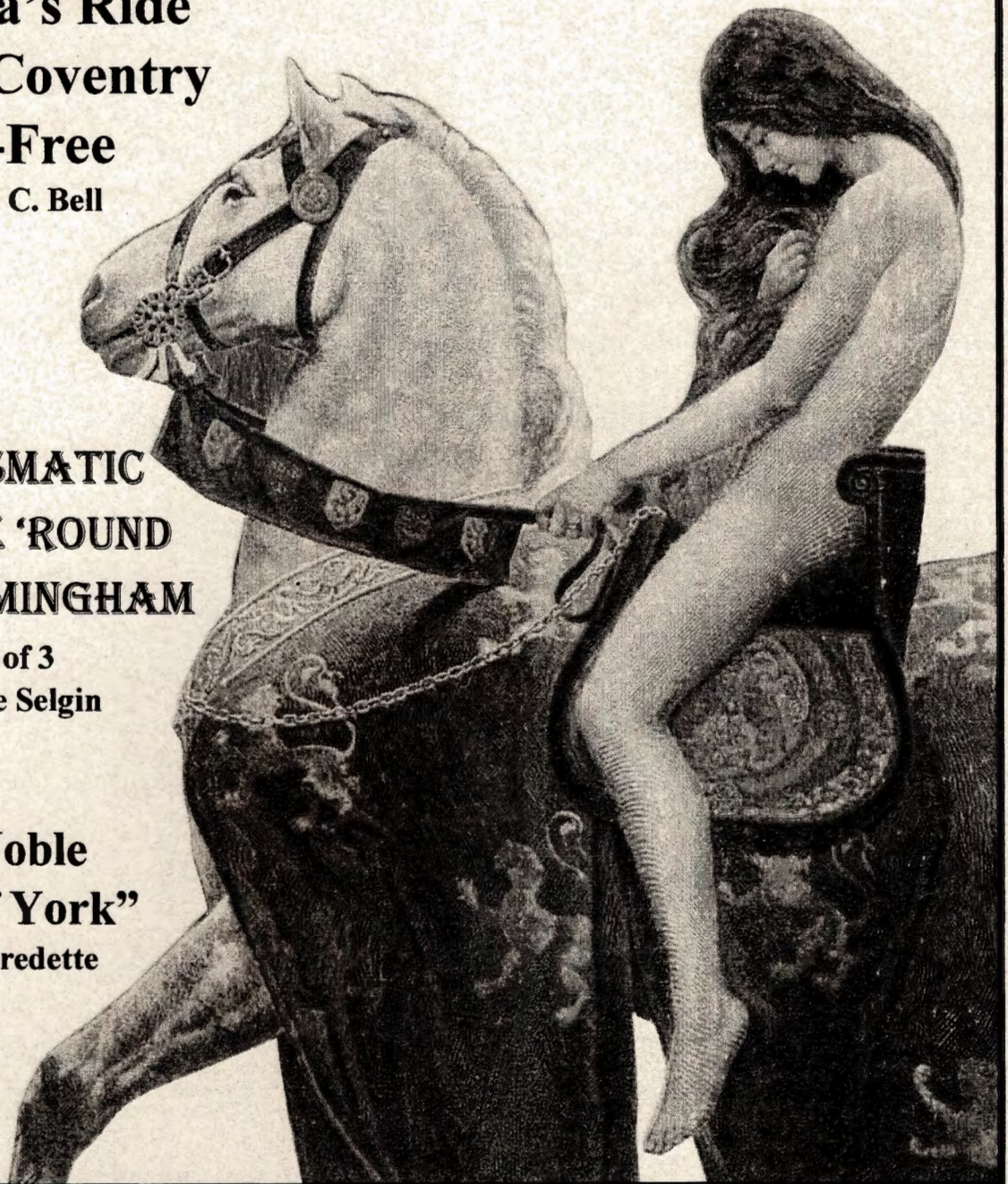
by R. C. Bell

A NUMISMATIC RAMBLE ‘ROUND OLD BIRMINGHAM

Part 2 of 3
by George Selgin

The “Noble Duke of York”

by Tom Fredette



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**Thinking about writing an article?
Do it!**

Introduction

About the Cover: In this issue, R.C. Bell discusses the always popular subject of Lady Godiva. Our cover illustration comes from an 1898 painting of that graceful rider by English painter John Collier (1850-1934).

Library: I would like to note two generous contributions to our library. With his recent membership renewal, Ralph Copher (CTCC #93) included a nice contribution to the "General Library Fund". I will be looking for a suitable acquisition for the library's collection. Thanks Ralph!

Thomas Fredette sent a nice group of references including: Davissons Ltd. Auctions 1-7, 9-16 and Davissons *Numismatic Notebook and Catalog, Fall 2001* " also a copy of *Coin World's World Coins* (April 1987) which features Richard Doty's 'British Tokens and the Industrial Revolution' and finally, a booklet of copies of token articles compiled by Tom. These are from a series that ran in *World Coin News* written by David Thompson on a variety of token topics. Thank you, Tom, for supporting the library!

New advertising category: Included in this issue is Davisson's Sale of the James Wahl collection. This represents a new advertising category for the CTCC. Anyone who would like to have an advertisement or sale catalog mailed with the journal may do so at a cost of one dollar for each piece sent. The items will be inserted by the CTCC and the advertiser will not have access to the membership list in any way. This is a great way to reach a targeted clientele and to support the CTCC. Contact Harold Welch for details.

Brooke article - You decide: David Brooke has written another fascinating article on a token issued by a private museum, *Mr. Middlebrook, the Great Auk and the Balaclava Bugle*. One problem - the token was issued in the 1890's! What to do? This is a continuation of a topic already explored in these pages by David, but the 1890's?! I feel that the tokens of the early nineteenth century are fair game, being so close in time and being produced in many cases by the same issuers and engravers, but the 1890's? Just as I was about to regretfully decide that it was just too far afield, I had a conversation with Bill McKivor. Bill was pointing out that many people who started out as strictly 'Conder' customers have developed additional interests in related British series of the 17th and 19th centuries. He felt strongly that the occasional article on other topics than strictly "Conders" would add interest and vitality to the journal. Ah, but where to draw the line? So I ask you, the membership, for your input. My e-mail, phone and address are on the officer's page. Let me know what you think .

CTCC at New York ANA: The CTCC general meeting was held at the American Numismatic Association meeting in New York. Despite a somewhat low turnout, the meeting was most interesting. Our president, Dr. Richard Doty, gave us an insider's look at the "Conder" token collections of the Smithsonian, the American Numismatic Society and the British Museum in an approximately 30 minute talk. With a bit of luck, we may be able to persuade him to turn the topic into an article for the journal. The meeting was followed by our traditional pizza & beer party. It was fun - be sure to join us next year!

HDW

“Conder” Token Trivia

Time to test the deep and wide knowledge of the CTCC membership. Welcome to the first edition of “Conder” Token Trivia!

James Conder (1763? - 1823) of Suffolk was a token triple threat. He issued tokens as a tradesman (he was a haberdasher and owner of a drapery warehouse in Ipswich). He was a prominent collector, forming one of the finest contemporary collections of tokens (sold by Sotheby in their 5 June 1855 sale). Finally, and most importantly, he wrote *An Arrangement of Provincial Coins, Tokens, and Medalets, Issued in Great Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies, Within the Last Twenty Years; from the Farthing to the Penny Size* which stood as the standard reference for the series for nearly one hundred years. Considering his across the board involvement in the British 18th century tradesmen’s tokens series, it probably isn’t surprising that somewhere along the way, they came to be known as “Conder” tokens. But when? What is the earliest known written reference to this name?

Just to provide a starting point, I will note that Charles E. Fraser published an article in the January 1896 issue of *The Numismatist* titled ‘Study of Conder Tokens’. I’m sure this was not the first time the term was used, so amaze your friends and acquaintances and earn the undying respect of “Conder” token collectors everywhere by finding the earliest reference and submitting it to: “Conder” Token Trivia, c/o Harold Welch via e-mail, snail mail, or phone.

Also, submit your trivia question to be published in the next exciting edition of “Conder” Token Trivia!

New Members

<u>Name</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>City & State</u>
Robert Hoge	CTCC #417	New York, NY
Brian Silliman	CTCC #418	Tallevast, FL
Richard Doane	CTCC #419	Debary, FL
Richard Charters	CTCC #420	St. Augustine, FL

CTCC at the 2002 New York ANA



Harold Welch

**Bob really likes
looking at coins!**



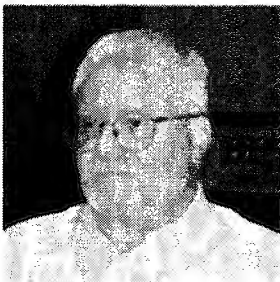
**Richard Doty's talk
at the general meeting**



Scott Loos



**No respect
for our President**



Larry Gaye



Brian Sullivan

**Eric Holcomb is
intent on Dick's talk!**



**Photos 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12
(counting left to right from top) by Bob Fritsch
Photos 2, 3, 9, 13 by Harold Welch**



Bob watches Lisa perform the famous 'donkey laugh'

Smile Pete!



**Back row: Pete Smith, Harold Welch, Scott Loos, Robert Hoge
Center row: Eric Holcomb, Lisa Loos, Richard Doty
Front: Larry Gaye**



Pizza and beer following the general meeting

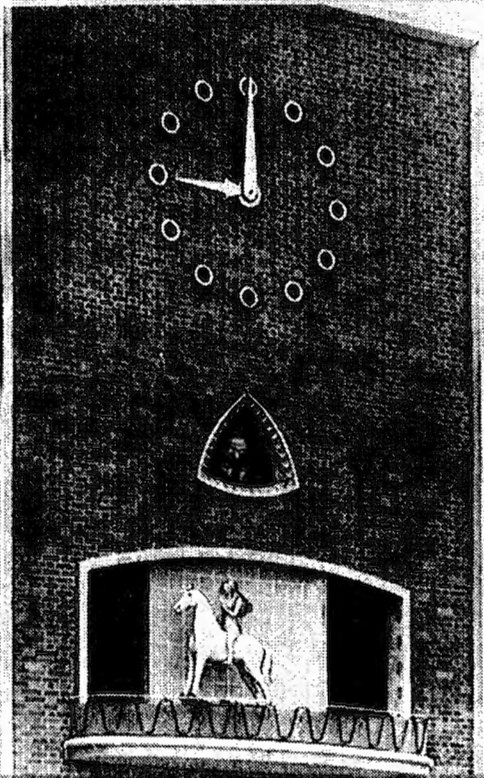


**Lisa & Bob
Good times!**

Godiva's Ride Made Coventry Toll-Free

By R. C. Bell

Newcastle Upon Tyne, England



Giant clock with figures of Peeping Tom in triangular window and Lady Godiva moving in an oval track, cuckoo-clock fashion, features the face of Broadgate House in Coventry.

In the 11th century the earldom of Mercia included what is now Cheshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and the borders of North Wales. Leofric, earl of Mercia, was one of the three great earls who played a leading part in affairs of England during the reign of King Canute. When this monarch died in 1035 Leofric supported Harold against Hardicanute.

Later, in 1051, he acted as a mediator in the quarrel between Edward the Confessor and Earl Godwin. Leofric's principal residence was at Chester, from which he derived the title of earl of Chester, and he was also lord of Coventry.

Legend says he imposed heavy taxes on the citizens of Coventry, and eventually representatives approached the earl's wife, Lady Godiva, to appeal to her husband to lighten their burden. At first he refused, and then as a jest promised to abolish the payments if their supplicant rode naked through the town. To his astonishment she took him at his word!

References are to Dalton and Hamer's "The Provincial Token-Coinage of the 18th Century" (D&H.) Illustrations are 1½ times normal size.

The oldest version of the Godiva legend is recorded in "Flores Historiarum" by Rodger de Wendover, who died in 1237. His account was taken from an earlier writer whose work has been lost.

The Frenchman, Misson, writing in 1719 described her famous ride in the following words: "... the lord of Coventry, being provoked against the city, stripped it of all its privileges, and put it in several respects into a very pitiful condition. The inhabitants after having tried all ways imaginable to recover their liberty, at last happily resolved to throw themselves at the feet of the beautiful and gentle Godiva, the tyrant's wife.

"They conjured her to intercede for

them, and she gave them her promise so to do. At first her prayers were in vain, nay, and her husband even took it ill at her hands, that she should concern herself for people against whom he was so much enraged.

"Nevertheless the good Godiva did not desist, and was so importunate with her husband that at length he told her he would grant her request if she would do one thing. 'By St. Matthew,' answered Godiva, 'I will do anything in the world to deliver Coventry from its servitude.' 'By St. Thaddeus,' then said the earl, 'You shall ride stark naked upon a white horse through every street in the town.'

"Godiva hesitated a little; but as she had sworn to do anything in the world, she found she could not refuse to do a thing which really was not so very difficult at that season of the year. (She had very thick long hair, which covered those parts of her body which ought to be concealed.)

"Having taken this resolution, Madame Godiva caused it to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet that such a thing being to be done on such a day, and at such an hour, she commanded every inhabitant and all in general to retire, and leave neither door nor window open when she went by, upon pain of death. All obeyed except a certain baker, who was punished as he deserved.

"After completing the ride the countess returned to her husband in triumph. He fulfilled his pledge by granting a



Reverse of Reynolds' halfpenny token shows the arms of Coventry: Party per pale, gules and vert, an elephant argent, on a mount proper, bearing a castle triple-towered on his back, all or. (D&H Warwickshire 231 to 237)



Coventry halfpenny token of Reynolds and Co., ribbon weavers, showing Lady Godiva on her famous ride. (D&H Warwickshire 231 to 237)

charter of freedom to the inhabitants, releasing them," in the words of the old chronicler, "from servitude, evil customs, and exactions."

Until the early part of the 19th century a memorial of the event was preserved in an ancient stained glass window in Trinity Church, which showed Leofric presenting his countess with a scroll inscribed:

"I, Luriche, for the love of thee,
"Doe make Coventrie tol-fre."

In 1218 Coventry was granted a charter by Henry III to hold an annual fair lasting eight days, and starting on the first Friday in Trinity week. For several centuries this fair was one of the chief marts in the kingdom, but it gradually declined in importance, and in the 17th century, to increase interest, a procession was held at intervals of three to seven years, on the first day of the fair. The first procession is thought to have been in 1678, or at least Lady Godiva was introduced into the pageant at this time, and the effigy of Peeping Tom of Coventry made its first appearance.

Peeping Tom was a later addition to the story of Lady Godiva's ride. He was a tailor, not a baker, who stole a look at the fair countess, but paid for his temerity by the immediate loss of his sight. In deference to this version a wooden figure was placed in a niche high up in the wall of a house at the corner of Hertford street where the incident was said to have occurred.

It became the responsibility of the owner of the building to maintain Peep-



Statue of Lady Godiva in the main square, Coventry, England. The "Hotel Leofric" seen behind her is named after her husband. (Photo courtesy Courtney L. Coffing)

ing Tom in proper repair, paint the statue every year, and provide him with a periwig and a hat on the day of the Godiva procession. This statue deserves further description. The original figure was of considerable antiquity, and rather more than life size.

It was carved from a single piece of oak, hollowed out behind to reduce its weight, and represented a man in complete plate armor with skirts; the legs and feet were also armed, and he wore a crested helmet on his head. The arms were fixed to the trunk by pegs, and the position of the body and legs suggested that the figure had originally been in an attitude of attack, and probably held a shield and spear, or possibly an ancient bill.

When the figure was set up in the niche to represent Peeping Tom the crest of the helmet was removed and replaced by a flowing wig, while the armor was painted to simulate clothing, and a large cravat, shoulder-knots, and other ornaments were added. These, together with a hat of a particular fashion leaves little doubt that the figure of the inquisitive tailor was placed in position about the time of the first procession in 1678.

At the end of the 18th century the wig was removed, together with the long cravat and shoulder-knots, and replaced by a military hat and a dif-

ferent style of paintwork. This change is clearly depicted in the reverse of Thomas Sharp's beautiful private token.

Over the years Godiva's procession followed a general pattern with only minor variations. The parade was headed by the City Guards, men trained and armed at the cost of the Corporation and various trading companies, and who furnished, when required, reinforcements to the national army. They were followed by St. George in full armor, and then the "city streamer" bearing the arms of Coventry, and two "city followers" who were originally train-bearers, and were dressed in antique clothing.

Lady Godiva came next, mounted on a white horse with rich housings and trappings, and on either side of this celebrated personage rode the "city crier" and "city beadle," whose coats were half green and half red, divided down the center after the fashion of the city's arms. Each wore a large silver badge wrought with an elephant and a castle on his left sleeve.

The girl representing the city's fair patroness usually wore a closely fitting white cambric dress, and a profusion of long hair decorated with a bandeau of flowers, and a plume of white feathers.

Godiva was followed by the "city officers," and the city's official sword and large mace, whose bearers wore



Obverse of Thomas Sharp's superb private token. The city's patroness, wearing a mural crown, rests her right arm on the hilt of a civic sword, and supports a shield bearing the arms of Coventry with her left hand. Behind Godiva is the city, with three church spires. (D&H Warwickshire 312)

a Cap of Maintenance, and a crimson velvet hat respectively. The "mayor's followers" were usually children about five years old, attired in fancy dresses with ornamented scarfs and head-gear of ostrich plumes; the latter being in honor of the connection of Edward the Black Prince with the city. Each child rode a horse attended by two men, one to lead the animal, the other to protect its rider.

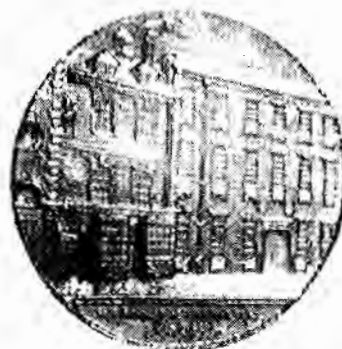
The mayor and Corporation wore black gowns, while the magistrates were splendid in scarlet robes. The sheriffs, chamberlains, and wardens were each attended by two followers. Representatives of the city companies were next, marching in order of seniority and bearing their streamers.

In the van were the Mercers, while the rear of the procession of the companies and benefit societies was composed of the Wool-combers, whose streamer was made of wool instead of the usual silk. In addition to the master and his attendants the Wool-combers' contingent sported a shepherd riding on a horse and carrying a sheep dog in his arms; and a shepherdess, seated on another horse, within a bower formed of branches and flowers, with an artificial lamb in her lap. Both carried an emblematic crook.

They were followed by Jason bearing the Golden Fleece in his left hand, and a naked sword in his right, surrounded by several wool-sorters in characteristic fancy dresses. Bishop Blaze, the patron saint of the wool-combers, was the last figure in the procession.

Following the Municipal Reform Act of 1826, the Corporation ceased to form any part of the cavalcade, and its monetary contributions were discontinued. The masters of the companies also withdrew, but allowed the use of their streamers.

From time to time pageants have been organized by private individuals and societies in honor of Lady Godiva and her husband Leofric, earl of Mercia, but the official processions are now but memories of bygone days.



Peeping Tom's house in Coventry, with his effigy looking out of an upper window, as shown on the reverse of Thomas Sharp's private token. It is doubly interesting, since the numismatic giant, Sharp, himself was born in the house on November 7, 1770. (D&H Warwickshire 312)

Just a reminder . . .
***Token Tales* by R. C. Bell**
is taken from his fine series
of articles published in
***World Coins* between 1964**
and 1976. They are
reprinted with Mr. Bell's
kind permission.

This piece was
published in the
April 1967 issue.

YORKSHIRE 69: A ROMAN CONNECTION



The site of present day York has been inhabited since prehistoric times, but it was the Roman army that established a permanent settlement in 71 AD. The Ninth Legion was ordered north from its base in Lincoln to subdue rebellious Celtic tribes and built a fortress on the strategically important site. Easily defended due to its elevation above the surrounding plain, the location also offered a natural port on the Ouse River and a hub of established trade routes. They named their new headquarters Eboracum, meaning “Place of Yew Trees”. Roman York quickly became an important military base and trading port. Around 200 AD it was made the capital of Britannia Inferior and was one of the most important towns of the Roman Empire. Eboracum served as home of the Imperial Court, ruling the entire Empire, from 208 – 211 for Emperor Septimus Severus and his son, later Emperor Caracalla. Septimus Severus died in Eboracum in 211 while campaigning against Scottish tribes – not the last Emperor to die while campaigning from the town. After several attempts, Vikings captured the town in 866, renaming it Jorvik, from which the modern name York is derived.

York has been important as a Roman fortress, major trade center, provincial capital, Imperial Court, and Viking battleground. Throughout its long history, the highlight is undoubtedly the proclamation of Constantine the Great as a Roman Emperor by his army at York in 306 AD.

Constantine was born between 272 and 288 in the Balkan town of Naissus. His father was a Roman officer and future Emperor, Constantius Chlorus. His mother was Helena, a woman of remarkable ability but very humble birth. His parents were probably not married due to their vast difference in social status, and Constantius set her aside for a political marriage in 292. In later life, Helena became a Christian and traveled to Jerusalem. There she is said to have discovered the True Cross and is canonized by the Roman Catholic Church as the patron saint of archaeologists.

From an early age Constantine showed great promise. He was schooled at the court of Emperor Diocletian and fought bravely on the Danube under Galerius. His abilities and

his popularity with the army made him a young man to be watched closely in a time of jealous rival Emperors.

In theory, the Western Emperor Constantius Chlorus and Eastern Emperor Galerius were equal in power. Circumstances, however, gave Galerius the upper hand for two main reasons: The Eastern Empire was richer than the West, and Galerius held Constantius' son Constantine as a virtual royal hostage. Constantius finally found a reason to demand the return of his son when he began a campaign against the wild painted Picts in northern Britain. Explaining that his popular and accomplished son's leadership was necessary for the campaign to succeed, Constantius pressured Galerius to release Constantine or admit that the young man was truly a hostage. When Galerius grudgingly gave his approval, Constantine and a few followers immediately fled by night on swift horses for the French coast and Constantius' ships to avoid any chance of recall.

Constantine and his father fought the Picts successfully for about a year until Constantius Chlorus became ill and died at York in July 306. Constantine's troops promptly proclaimed him Emperor, confirming Galerius' worst fears and infuriating the powerful Eastern Augustus. In a move that likely saved his life, Constantine stayed in the isolation of York surrounded by his loyal troops and sent a message to Galerius. He explained that the proclamation was the idea of his soldiers and that he, Constantine, had no involvement. Faced with a popular leader of a powerful army, Galerius agreed to allow Constantine the lesser title of Caesar and safe passage home. That was enough; Constantine went on to become one of the most influential leaders in Western history and the effects of his reign are still important today.

As the first Roman Emperor to accept Christianity, Constantine enabled its spread throughout the known world. Although historians debate whether his motives were primarily spiritual or political, he was baptized on his deathbed in 337 and is venerated as a saint. After defeating his rivals and unifying the Empire, he rebuilt the Greek city of Byzantium as his new capital and renamed it Constantinople. The Byzantine Empire lasted for another millennium and preserved western culture after the collapse of Rome and the beginning of the Dark Ages. A bronze statue stands in York today to mark the spot where his troops changed history by proclaiming him Emperor in 306 AD.

Yorkshire 69, featuring a bust of Constantine, was manufactured by Kempson from dies by Wyon. The reverse legend and edge inscription give it the appearance of a commercial token but it almost certainly is a private token intended for sale or trade with collectors. Only 200 pieces were struck, a few in brass, and Samuel states that specimens sold for 5 shillings 6 pence each at the time of issue. Boyne describes it as a private token but Pye does not.

The issuer of this handsome token has been the subject of some disagreement. Earlier authorities, Samuel and Dalton and Hamer, attribute it to James Carlisle. Waters and Bell give the issuer as James Bellamy Carlill, a York watchmaker. He also issued 200 pieces of another handsome token with a Roman flavor, Yorkshire 70.

The obverse has a bust of Constantine facing left, laureate and cuirassed, with a Roman Imperial eagle standard in front of the bust. The obverse legend is peculiar: "CONSTANTINE THE GREAT BORN AT YORK AD 271". Clearly, Constantine was not born at York and he was almost certainly born after 271. Samuel cites a local legend popular at the time that accounts for the inscription. Since Carlill seems to have been an educated man with an interest in ancient history, he may have known better.

The token reverse features the arms of the city of York and the commercial sounding legend "YORK HALFPENNY 1796". The edge inscription is "PAYABLE AT YORK .X.X.X.X.X.".

Samuel declares that James Carlisle must have been "a person of medallic taste and judgement". When I look at the lovely example of Yorkshire 69 recently added to my collection, I heartily agree.

Michael Grogan CTCC # 48

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"CLOSE, BUT NO CIGAR"

For me the Provincial British Tokens are not just to create a collection of beautiful tokens to be squirreled away in some bank vault. They are a kind of window to the history of the Late Eighteenth Century in Britain. Much of my effort is to make connections with names found on the tokens with references to the historical literature. Besides collecting our beloved tokens, I collect books on all aspects of the latter half of that century. The variety of designs are what peak my interest. Such designs as heraldry, old buildings, various industries, political commentary, and people's busts are the symbols which lead to an understanding of that period. But my greatest pleasure comes from finding a character's name mentioned in the historical records and which matches correctly with that of a token. The enjoyment comes when I can place a personality onto the plain blank name on that token. Naturally for many obscure merchants this is a difficult or impossible task and does not happen frequently. Consequently the information I mostly keep track of on my computer is significantly dominated by peoples names. The other day, I was cross indexing the names beginning with "U", and I obtained a hit. Needless to say I was overjoyed and excited. The next step is to go to the historical sources and see if the name really is correctly associated with that of the token. Names beginning in "Z", "X" and "Q" are rather rare and those beginning in "U" are not common, so the prospects appeared good. For those familiar and interested with the whole history of the late Eighteenth Century, you may know a little about my "U" name. For those following the background concerning the development and collecting of these tokens, you may have seen the name before and will wish to scramble for your books. For you straight collectors, I will try to provide you with a limited personality to go with the name of Upcott.

The review of a little history must proceed first. In broad terms the period is often referred to as the Enlightenment, (however, much more was advancing at this time.) Yet people were waking up to science, natural history exploration, taking charge of their own lives, becoming more literate and becoming more conscious of their freedoms and rights. After all the American colonies had just fought for their independence in 1776-1782. In 1789 some Frenchmen stormed the Bastille on July 14th and started the French Revolution to overthrow a faulty economic and political government. It appears governments the world over are slow to adjust to rapidly changing times, and one could get the impression they are paranoid. If you have read a few of my previous articles, you know I am particularly interested in the reform movements in the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, England. Such personages and associations as the London Corresponding Society and its secretary, Thomas Hardy are prime examples. You may be familiar with the fact that there were several trials held by the government against these radicals for treason. The most famous of these occurring in 1794. But remember that the French declared war with Britain early in 1793, and that the government felt a need to suppress any similar French revolt in England. This was even though the English reformers were trying to accomplish their changes through the political system and had no desire to kill any aristocrats or the king. Well, in more detail we will start our story with William Pitt, the younger and his friend George Canning.

One group of French revolutionaries were called Jacobins from a club they attended, and as is frequently the case, the term reached a much wider context (see the words "liberal" and "conservatives.") So this derogatory epithet was also applied to English parliamentary reformers. William Pitt, then Prime Minister, probably contrived with the young George Canning to get him to head a project to establish a government subsidized newspaper, the *Anti-Jacobin Review* (or *Weekly Examiner*) in 1797. They had a two-fold aim: 1.) to counter articles being published by radical reformers, often published in the *Monthly Magazine*, and 2.) to likewise ridicule and satirize the Opposition politicians in Parliament. William Gifford would become the chief editor with various "conservatives" as article contributors. The source for the history of the *Anti-Jacobin Review* is the book *The Anti-Jacobins, 1798-1800*, by Emily Lorraine de Montluzin, and published by the McMillan Press in 1988. What should be realized is in England at this time, almost all major newspapers were subsidized to some extent by the king's government. Of course, the government was placing restraints on what could, or could not be printed unlike what the press in the new country of America was like. Even worse, *The Anti-Jacobin Review*, as far as the government was concerned, was to be a secret operation. If you will refer to page 22 of the above mentioned book, you will find this passage: "Wright's assistant, William Upcott, was hired to make fair copies of all contributions to the paper in order to protect the authors' handwriting from detection by the printer." (Their foot note #79.) So much for freedom of the press in England then. Let us look at the Anti-Jacobins before we search out William Upcott's personality.

Not to attack organized religion per se or even suggest a parallel to today's events, many of the contributors were well known religious personages. I will mention only the first alphabetic four to give you some indication: Rev. Wm. Atkinson, (1757-1846); Rev. Jonathan Boucher, (1738-1804); Rev. Wm. Lisle Bowles, (1762-1850) and Rev. John Brand, (1743-1808.) William Cobbett, (1763-1835) the famous American conservative and publisher of the *Porcupine's Gazette*, who was sued by Dr. Benjamin Rush, and fled back to England, became a contributor. Cobbett was a very complex character who is worth reading about for both American as well as English history. Interestingly, Isaac D'Israeli (1766-1848), the father of the future Prime Minister, Benjamin D'Israel was a contributor and a well known author in his own right. A person of some interest, who I am researching was called Henry James Pye, (1745-1813) who also wrote a couple of articles. This name may ring a bell to a few of our Journal's readers, however; the token catalog author was a different C. Pye. One of the most vehement and nasty men was John Reeves, (1752-1829) not so much for his very slanted articles, but because of his entire efforts against the Jacobins. Please do not get me wrong. These men are not necessarily evil. There was genuine concerns about the now extreme wrong turns in the French Revolution. There was a distinct fear of a French invasion, especially supported by the Irish, and upon the Irish coast. Also there were a few radical contributors who were allowed to publish in order to give the impression of political balance or to mildly refute previous published opinions. Enough about the *Anti-Jacobin Review* and its contributors, its time to turn to Mr. Upcott.

Though I did not immediately remember, it was in Bell's *Tradesmen's Tickets And Private Tokens, 1785-1819* where I first encountered the name Upcott. You know the beautiful twopence token on page 17 with the two lighthouses. One which is on the obverse is of the famous Edystone (sic, the token's spelling) lighthouse and with the Spurn Point



Lighthouse on the reverse. I have yet to research the Spurn Point one, but I know a bit about the Eddystone. John Smeaton, the famous English engineer and FRS, designed the rebuilt Eddystone light - but more of this later. William Upcott issued this token in the year 1801. Upcott was certainly attempting to honour John Smeaton since the reverse lighthouse was also of a Smeaton design. The token was attributed as a Devonshire issue, however, though the Eddystone light is in the county, the Spurn Point is not. If you have the Bell book mentioned above, please read further about the token. If you do not have this gorgeous piece, do not fret or feel bad for it is extremely rare.

To remember just one thing about William Upcott, (1779-1845) remember that he was a fanatical antiquarian collector. But how come? To understand we have to look into his youth. First off he was illegitimate, or a "natural" son of Ozias Humphry, (1742-1810) and Dolly Wickens, the daughter of a shopkeeper. He obtains his family name from Humphry's mother's maiden name. Ozias was a well know miniature portrait painter and a fairly close acquaintance of the painter Thomas Gainsborough, (1727-1788.) It's hard to say whether his early youthful experience as a bookseller or his father's bequest of his old letters and left over miniatures caused Upcott to begin collecting. Certainly Humphry's old autographed correspondence must have been extensive and of great collecting interest to him. Any visitor to Upcott's rooms could testify to his avid antiquarian collection as some did. Prints were plastered all over his walls as reported. Drawers, shelves and cabinets were chuck full as were also boxes stashed about. As it happened, professor Porson (an ancient classic scholar and drunkard) was made librarian to the London Institute. Porson, I use to think was an obscure personality, and yet a thoroughly interesting character, but lately his name has been turning up frequently. This was a bit of luck for Upcott, for in April of 1806 he was made Porson's assistant which undoubtedly aided his collecting craze. Yet his reputation of being a notable autograph and manuscript collector caused him to be robbed in about 1833. He held his position with the London Institution until 1834, but it was in the earlier days in the late 1790's in which he was aligned with the conservatives and William Gifford. At this time, he also had the opportunity to collect many autographs and

manuscripts of the many noteworthy personalities he would meet in his Anti-Jacobin job. As for other memorabilia, he made several magnificent antiquary discoveries by visiting old shops. The list of his significant finds is too lengthy and not of our purpose to mention here. In 1836, he first catalogued his collection and issued it at his own expense. As might be expected of such a quirky character, he died unmarried at 66 leaving no heirs. It is the legacy of his collecting abilities which endows him with a name in history. Much of what he collected eventually ended up in important museums. The summer after his death in 1845, most of his collection was auctioned off by Sotheby. And yes, you guessed it, amongst his possessions was an extensive collection of metals and provincial tokens. However, the name of the bidder, who gained most of the tokens, was never revealed. And again it is not my objective to report where the various artifacts of his vast collection found their final homes. To indicate the size of this collection, I will mention that the British Museum did quite well in obtaining about 116 volumes of manuscripts. Also, C. H. Turner of Godstone was one of his closest friends and consequently acquired many fine items which still are owned by the family today. We should note, Upcott was also interested in topography, possibly while collecting such materials. In any case, he did publish some works on the subject in 1818. It is quite clear from quotations attributed to him that he contributed to the compilation of the "Biographical Dictionary" of 1816.

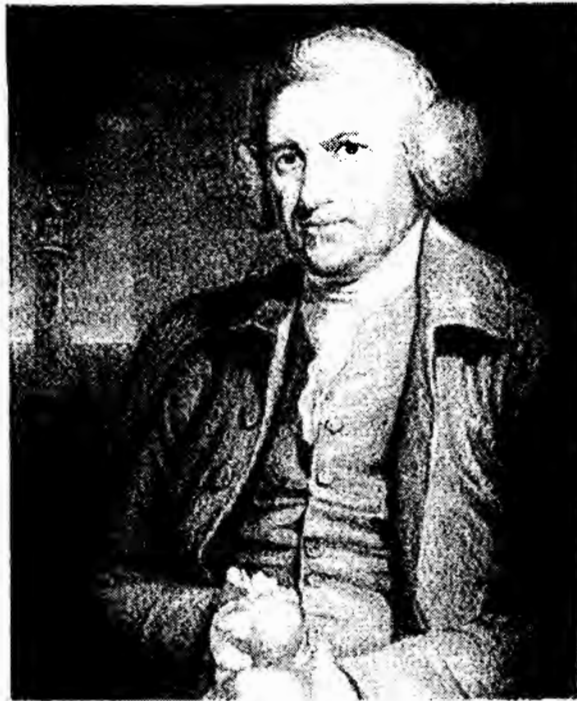
In summary of William Upcott's personality, we can surmise he was well educated, literate and intelligent. However, it appears he was reclusive but not without a few friends. Also it has been recorded that he had a beautiful hand writing which would be in keeping for someone who would be making copies of articles for publication. We may want to examine the possibility that he was in some ways a miser. It is very difficult at this juncture in history to ascertain how much personal profit he gained from his hobby. One suspects little as it seems he was reticent to part with very little of it. For example Sotheby's auction of 1846 brought in L 4,125 and 17 shillings. To understand this amount for those times, a person could live quite well, but not lavishly, on L 250 a year. Now our last question is why did he issue a token honouring Smeaton, and what connection with the great engineer did he have?

John Smeaton, (1724-1792) was born near Leeds in Austhorpe, Yorkshire. He Had some Scottish relatives in his genealogy. He opened his own instrument shop in London in 1742. Very early in his career he had connections with the Royal Society going to many of their lectures. He obtained his FRS (Fellow of the Royal Society) in 1753 being the first person officially to call himself an engineer. Near the end of his life he helped established the very first engineering society in England. But concerning the Eddystone Lighthouse, I will elaborate in more detail. The earlier lighthouses had previously been built of wood, and in 1755 the latest one had burnt down. John Smeaton was suggested as the person to design and rebuild it. The location is quite some distance, almost directly south of Plymouth, in the Atlantic Ocean on a rocky reef. Smeaton's design called for a similar looking lighthouse but made of interlocking stonework. One of his modifications was an improved and stronger base in order to withstand the battering of the sea. The final coarse of stones was completed by 1759 at which time the light was again lit. It is worth noting that his design was so ingenious that due to erosion of the original rocky shoal, it was possible to move it to another reef using his original interlocking stonework. Reading

Smeaton's biography gives us no clue as to any relationship Upcott had with him. Smeaton died eleven years prior to Upcott's token, so it may have been just his admiration for this superior engineer that he issued this token. Or maybe, since Upcott was a student of topography he considered these lighthouses as being something special.

Well, by now you experts on Provincial tokens know my Upcott hit was a miss - no grand prize. You are right, the Eddystone-Upcott token is not listed in Dalton and Hamer and presumably therefore is not a genuine Provincial token. Rather it is listed under **Davis** as **#21** and of course is a private issue. This fact of being a private issue helps explain its great rarity. Well I hope you appreciated my little discovery anyway.

Richard Bartlett



John Smeaton

Mr. Middlebrook, the Great Auk and the Balaclava Bugle

The handful of tokens issued in the late eighteenth century by the founders of private museums provide us with windows on some curious collections. The cast of curators is a varied one, including an inventor, a farmer, an apothecary, an artist, a shop keeper and a taxidermist.¹ A hundred years later three such coins were issued by the owner of a public house, in Camden Town, who displayed within it the largest collection of them all.

T.G. Middlebrook's tokens were struck in the 1890s to advertise the Edinburgh Castle and the "Free Museum" it contained.² The tokens were part of an ambitious publicity campaign which included announcements of recent additions to the collection, interviews with the press, postcards, and several editions of a penny catalogue. At one point, Middlebrook took out an advertisement thanking over forty newspapers and magazines "for the kindly notices and illustrated articles that have appeared on the subject of the Edinburgh Castle Free Museum and the curiosities contained therein." One can gain rather a complete picture of the museum from visitor's accounts, Middlebrook's brochures, and the 1908 sale catalogue of his collection.³

The three tokens he issued are full of references to the pub and its contents. The first of these coins, probably struck in the early 1890s, announces that it is a "Free Museum, Well Worth a Visit" and noted for its coins and medals (a longtime interest of Mr. Middlebrook).⁴ On the reverse are the rather grim battlements of Edinburgh Castle with the inscription "Implements of War." The date of 1879 refers to Middlebrook's acquisition of the pub; he opened the museum some five years later. The Castle had housed a collection of sorts since 1842, though this had been largely dispersed by the 1870s.⁵

The second token was issued about 1895 and marks the beginning of five years of ambitious collecting.⁶ The battlements of Edinburgh Castle have been replaced by a bust of Mr. Middlebrook. He is flanked by the words "The Great Auk's Egg." His purchase of the first of four such eggs at auction in April 1895 was very well publicised, and must have attracted many customers. Middlebrook had hoped to acquire a stuffed auk at the same auction to accompany the egg, but it escaped him. He bid up to 300 pounds for the bird before it was bought in at 350.⁷

¹ Notes on most of these tokens were written by the author for The Conder Token Collector's Journal between 1977 and 2000.

² W.J. Davis and A.W. Waters, Tickets and Passes of Great Britain and Ireland, Leamington Spa, 1922, nos. 177, 178.

³ In preparing this article I have relied mainly on sources consulted at the Camden Local Studies and Archives Centre. The Centre was kind enough to provide me with Middlebrook's obituary and a copy of the 1908 sale catalogue. I am especially grateful to Aidan Flood and Marc Aston for their help. My thanks are also due to the Guildhall Library for a copy of the third edition of the museum's brochure.

⁴ Davis and Waters, op. cit., no. 178.

⁵ See the undated article "A Costly Hobby: A Visit to the Edinburgh Castle Free Museum" (Camden Archives), p. 3. Several London pubs housed collections, though Mr. Middlebrook's was the best known. Marc Girouard, Victorian Pubs, 1984, p. 11. There is also an article by Charles E. Lawrence on public house museums in The Ludgate which I have been unable to locate.

⁶ This token is unrecorded by Davis and Waters.

⁷ Middlebrook's claim of "the highest genuine bid" is made in an advertisement for the museum, "One of the Sights of London!" illustrated in John Richardson, Camden Town Past and Present, 1991, p. 94.

When Middlebrook was interviewed by a reporter from the Westminster Budget shortly after this sale, he was in an expansive mood.⁸ He was building a special gallery for the museum, which was then upstairs, though some of its contents had spilled out into the public bar and the billiard room. The reporter noted that the bust of a Roman emperor gazed sternly at the brandy-and-soda of the latter-day tippler, and that a mother-of-pearl picture of the Madonna was carefully hung out of sight of the billiard table. The impression of Mr. Middlebrook given in the interview is rather an engaging one.⁹ "When I hear of a sale, a good genuine sale," the publican confided, "I go and see what I can afford." He was a familiar figure, small in stature with a beard and slouch hat, at Stevens Auction Rooms near Covent Garden. Their sales covered, in his own words, "a bit of everything"--birds, insects, plants, "trophies from the tropics" and oriental art.¹⁰ Mr. Middlebrook also told the reporter that he planned to provide a catalogue of the museum for his visitors. This duly came out, with notes by him on the highlights of the collection, and the proceeds from its sale were devoted to charity.

The third token, probably struck around 1900, advertises two important acquisitions he made at this time.¹¹ "The Bugle that Sounded the Balaclava Charge" was bought at auction in 1898, and is illustrated on the coin together with the crest of the 17th Lancers (The Death or Glory Boys) and the date of their famous charge, October 25, 1854. The bugle had belonged to Harry Joy (1818-1893), the Trumpet Major of the regiment, and his widow had consigned it and his medals to auction. After some spirited bidding, Middlebrook acquired it for 750 pounds.¹² He announced at the sale, to enthusiastic cheers, that "at my death, this bugle will be the property of the 17th Lancers"--one of the underbidders. When the bugle arrived at the Edinburgh Castle, it was given a housewarming party, and Trumpet Major Harrison (imported from the regimental barracks in Cork) sounded the charge. After taking pride of place in the pub, it was "sounded many times in the cause of charity," notably at the Naval and Military Concert at the Crystal Palace in 1901. Mr. Middlebrook, as the lender, was presented to the audience and given a souvenir photo of the occasion.

Slightly larger than the other two, the third token is inscribed with "The Seasons Greetings from T.G. Middlebrook." In addition to the bugle, it records another recent acquisition--the "Largest Egg in the World"--and bears the image of a tree and flagpole with the Union Jack. Mr. Middlebrook had acquired his *Aepyornis Maximus* egg (a native of Madagascar) in 1899. It was duly exhibited on top of a case containing the four auks' eggs which he had acquired between 1895 and 1899.¹³ The prices he had paid were clearly indicated, and it is worth noting that he spent more than a thousand pounds on these star attractions. The tree and flagpole probably refer to the garden of the Edinburgh

⁸ This interview, "What the Press Says about the Great Auk's Egg and the Museum," is reprinted in another of Middlebrook's advertisements (Camden Archives).

⁹ Mr. Middlebrook appears, thinly disguised as Brookmiddle, presiding over the contents of the Edinburgh Castle in G.W. Appleton's novel Francois the Valet, n.d.

¹⁰ For Stevens auction rooms see E.G. Allingham, A Romance of the Rostrum, London, 1924.

¹¹ Davis and Waters, op. cit., no. 177.

¹² For an account of the sale of the bugle and its aftermath see "A Costly Hobby," op. cit., pp. 4-6, 8. It is now in the National Army Museum, London.

¹³ Errol Fuller, The Great Auk, Abrams, 1999, p. 110. A photograph of Mr. Middlebrook standing beside this case and inspecting an auk's egg is reproduced on p. 323. I am very grateful to Mr. Fuller for his help in connection with this article.

Castle. The Westminster Budget, when discussing the acquisition of the first auk's egg in 1895, reported that "around its present nest flutters the young foliage of an avenue of lime trees and high above, on a tall mast ... flies in fine style the Union Jack."

Mr. Middlebrook's flag also flew in fine style over a variety of patriotic souvenirs. Apart from the Balaclava Bugle, there were Nelson relics, a death mask of the Duke of Wellington, Stanley's topee, and the spear that killed General Gordon at Khartoum. One especially prized item was the flag captured from the American frigate, the Chesapeake, in 1813. The Edinburgh Castle also housed a most unusual tribute to Dickens in the shape of a "reconstruction" of Fagin's kitchen from *Oliver Twist*.¹⁴

Mr. Middlebrook died in August 1907 (his only son had predeceased him) and his collection was sold at auction the following January.¹⁵ There was only one auk's egg in the sale and it fetched a third of the price he had paid for it some nine years earlier. The other three eggs had already been sold to the London dealer Roland Ward ca. 1905-1906 and replicas of them made for the museum. All four promptly crossed the Atlantic, entering the collection of John Eliot Thayer in Lancaster, Massachusetts.¹⁶ Mr. Thayer was as devoted an auk collector as Mr. Middlebrook, and gave a grand total of eleven eggs to the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard in 1932. It is pleasant to note that one of these is classified in a recent publication as the Edinburgh Castle / St. Malo Egg. The Balaclava Bugle, despite Middlebrook's promise of a gift to the Lancers, was sold at the 1908 auction. It was offered, with Trumpet Major Joy's medals, in a splendid showcase of English oak, surmounted by the crest of the 17th Lancers and with the carved inscription Balaclava 1854. The golden days of such patriotic relics seem to have passed for the bugle fetched half the price Middlebrook had paid for it in 1898. Stanley's topee, Gordon's spear, Livingstone's prayerbook and the Nelson relics were acquired for Henry Wellcome's museum.

The Edinburgh Castle, minus its curiosities, is still in business in Camden Town, though its garden, where Mr. Middlebrook's customers played the ancient game of lawn billiards, is now a courtyard.¹⁷

¹⁴ Among the other curiosities were Oliver Cromwell's hat, Haydn's flute, a sea snake, a Babylonian brick, and a death certificate of James II.

¹⁵ Sale of the Middlebrook Museum, Debenham, Storr and Sons, 26 King Street, Covent Garden, January 29-30, 1908. 570 lots were offered, the first day's sale being highlighted by the auk's egg and the second by the Balaclava Bugle.

¹⁶ John C. Phillips, "John Eliot Thayer, 1862-1933" in The Auk, vol. 51, January 1934, pp. 46-51.

¹⁷ For an account of lawn billiards at the Edinburgh Castle see "A Costly Hobby," op. cit., pp. 14-15.



From the Mail Coach . . .

PVC Damage? (cont.)

July 14, 2002

Dear Harold,

I wanted to share a little cautionary tale with my fellow members.

The Spring Issue of the Journal (whole number 23) was mailed on March 25, and arrived while I happened to be out of town. I glanced at it briefly--and greatly admired the workmanship of the club medal honoring Wayne Anderson--and then put it all back into the mailing envelope, to peruse in detail at greater leisure.

Well, guess what? That 'greater leisure' just never seems to happen. So it was only today that I finally got around to pulling that envelope out from a stack of 'stuff to read'--and discovered to my horror that ***a giant blotch of P.V.C. residue was encroaching on the swan's neck from the adjacent field, like a misshapen greasy bullseye!*** The fields around Father Time were similarly 'clouding over.'

And now, the good news: with a sequence of four acetone baths (dip and swirl three times per bath, then dump the solution and start over with a fresh batch), ***all this 'goo' came off!*** (One must be very careful *not* to touch the prooflike fields directly--i.e., *no scrubbing!*)

But it's sobering to realize that this incipient damage only took about a hundred *days* to develop. It reemphasizes the extreme fragility of copper surfaces, and the need for proper storage for our treasures.

So if any of the rest of you have set aside issue #23 for a 'rainy day,' with the club medal still in its soft P.V.C. flip, ***better have a look at it, before it's too late!***

Cordially,

Harry Salyards, CTCC #13

Editor's note: Don Young reports seeing the ghostly moon shape rising behind the swan on his medal and I have seen it on mine as well. Perhaps a (dirty) suction cup was used to remove the medals after striking? Be sure to check your medals!

The "Noble Duke of York"

Tom Fredette

Charles Dickens said in his novel A Tale of Two Cities that "It was the best of times. It was the worst of times." The revolution which had begun in France in 1789 with the storming of the Bastille had, by 1793 - according to many in the upper classes of Great Britain - gotten out of hand and had evolved into a movement and government which now felt bold enough to declare war on the British people that same year. This revolt against privilege and monarchy had captured the undivided attention of the British people for the previous four years and is the subject of a number of tokens in the Late 18th Century Series.

Middlesex.

NATIONAL SERIES.



FRANCE (King and Queen of).

995. O: Two busts. LOUIS . XVI ET M.
ANTOINETTE . ROIE ET REINE DE FRANCE.

R: MURD. BY | THE FACTIOUS. | LOUIS XVI.
JAN. 21 | M. ANTOINETTE | OCT. 16.
| 1793.

E: Milled.

A. 90

So fearing that French revolutionary thinking and ideas were now sure to spread to this island nation, the Government accepted the French challenge. And into the fray the young (30 year old) Duke of York was dispatched to Flanders at the head of a British Expeditionary Force.

Frederick Augustus, was born in 1763, the second son of King George III. He was sent to Germany in 1780 to be trained for a military career. His training and apprenticeship lasted approximately seven years. According to Eric Niderost in his article on the Duke in *Military History* magazine during those years "...he probably imbibed more liquor than professional precepts. He reveled in the upper class vices of his time, including gambling, drinking and the avid pursuit of women."

The Duke had been put in charge of an army which had recently been sent packing across the Atlantic after the American Revolutionary War. It was a tired and corrupt army in reality. It was not well led, well paid, well clothed or well supplied. During the Flanders campaign, Frederick Augustus was "Abandoned by his allies (and) became the political scapegoat for his army's poor performance" according to Niderost. It was during this period that a nursery rhyme was composed that became well known to a generation of British school children:

The noble Duke of York,
He had ten thousand men,
He marched them up to the top of the hill,
And he marched them down again.

Shortly after his return from the Flanders campaign, his father appointed the Duke to the position of Field Marshall. This 1795 appointment eventually evolved into Commander in Chief of His Majesty's land forces. Because he had been disgraced as the head of the British army in the Flanders campaign, Frederick Augustus surprised many when he embraced this new position, "...rolled up his sleeves and set to work, becoming an outstanding administrator" (Niderost).

His "nobility" began to shine through in this job and while he was in it he reformed the system of purchasing military commissions and set new standards of conduct, training and discipline. He raised the pay of the common soldier and gave him better clothing. "Education was also a part of York's program. In 1802 he supported the founding of the Royal Military college" a branch of which became known as Sandhurst, which we here in the United States think of as the British "West Point."

According to Bell, he resigned the post of "Commander-in-Chief in 1809 owing to a scandal over the purchase of preferments. He was acquitted of the charges, and reinstated in 1811, and retained the position until his death in 1827." And Niderost tells us that "...by the time (this) scandal had broken...most of his significant reforms were already in place."

King George the Third, especially, and his immediate family are well represented on the tokens, card counters, commemoratives and medalets of the Late 18th Century Series. And Frederick Augustus, the second son, has managed to make it onto a few of these issues. It appears, however, that he was more important to British military life than the number of tokens which show him would indicate. A nice three-quarter portrait of the Duke of York appears on Lancashire No. 138. It is payable at J. Rayner & Co., Manchester. The 1793 date may be indicative of his appointment as head of the Expeditionary Force. Waters lists it as a general trade token. Bell also includes it but tells us that "Nothing is known of any firm of J. Rayner & Co."



138. O: FREDERICK DUKE OF YORK.
 R: The Bricklayers' arms, &c. HALFPENNY
 PAYABLE AT J. RAYNER & CO. MAN-
 CHESTER 1793.
 E: ANGLESEY LONDON OR LIVERPOOL. A. 83
 138a. E: BIRMINGHAM REDRUTH & SWANSEA. A. 83a
 138b. E: Plain (not in collar). A. 83b



As one would expect, there is a small grouping in the Middlesex National Series. And varied portraits too. Nos. 984-986 show handsome profiles. No. 994, a smaller, high-relief portrait, appears also on Middlesex No. 519 issued by Skidmore. No 994 is called **R** but 519 is noted by D&H as being "...in the British Museum and probably unique." This notation in reference to No. 519 is made by Waters:



519

519. *Skidmore*. The "Freeborn Englishman" illustrated is Spence's;
 I think it should have the Skidmore small die as No. 520.
 Atkins mentions on page 114 in a note under 398 that he had not seen
 a token described by Conder as under:-
 Obv. Bust of the Duke of York as No. 519.
 R. A Freeborn Englishman. As 520.
 There is a specimen in the British Museum which may be unique.

In addition to the previous sampling, Bell lists an early 19th century issue as possibly referring to the Duke of York. It is a Staffordshire penny, payable by E. Beebee. Bell notes that: "The reverse may be intended to represent the Duke of York...He was reinstated in 1811, the date of issue of the token."



984



985

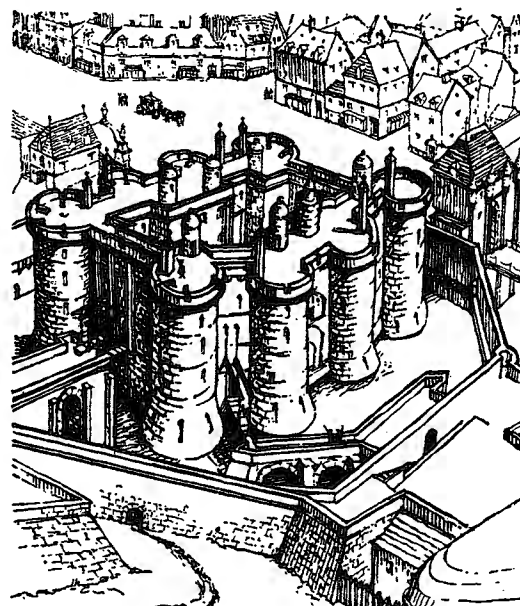
More can be said about Frederick Augustus, second son of King George III, Duke of York and Albany, especially as it relates to his military career. The writer recommends the article listed in the References section. The author of this article concludes for us by saying that the Duke of York "...deserves to be remembered for more than just a children's nursery rhyme. By instituting much-needed and long-delayed reforms, he played a role in the British Army's ultimate triumph over Napoleon in 1815."



986



View of Bastille.



THE BASTILLE, symbol of the French monarch's arbitrary power, was seized by a Paris mob on July 14, 1789.

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After being made commander in chief of His Britannic Majesty's land forces in April 1798, Frederick Augustus, Duke of York and Albany, subjected the army to some overdue, far-reaching reforms.

A NUMISMATIC RAMBLE
'ROUND OLD BIRMINGHAM
(continued - part 2)

To Snow Hill

Let us then enter the toy district proper, proceeding down Newhall Street one block, and turning left on to Little Charles Street. This was the address of Birmingham's third largest token maker (after Parys Mine Co. and Boulton), Peter Kempson, who produced commercial coins here between 1791 and 1801 and whose firm remained at the same address until 1823 producing gilt and plated buttons, pocket calendars, and medals and medalets. Kempson retired from button and medal making just five years ago, leaving the business to his son, who had been his partner since 1810.

In addition to having been one of the largest token producers, Kempson was also among the best. John Gregory Hancock, Sr., who is generally considered to have been Birmingham's pre-eminent diesinker, was Kempson's chief engraver until 1815. Kempson also employed the celebrated Wyon brothers, Peter and Thomas, whom we shall get around to later this afternoon. Kempson's more famous products, apart from his tradesman's tokens, included a series of exceptionally beautiful tokens made especially for collectors that depicted famous buildings in Birmingham, London, and elsewhere.

Little Charles Street comes to an end at Livery Street where, if we glance to our left, we can see all the way to Great Hampton Street, which, after changing into Hockley Road, leads directly to Soho. Nearer at hand there stands a lumbering pile of brickwork. Back in the '90s this was Swann's Amphitheatre—a place for equestrian shows and bawdy circus acts. Now it is a considerably less impure Dissenting house of worship. Apart from it Livery Street presents few points of interest—just a broad, long expanse lined with one tradesman's shop after another, most of them with large signboards stretched across their windows, painted black with gilt letters and finials and resting upon what appear to be gilded cricket balls: "Thos. Frost, Lapidary," "John Jones, Gun and Pistol Maker," and (naturally) "Parrock's Livery Stable." But as we have no need for gemstones, firearms, or a horse, we'll make our way across Livery Street to tiny Brittle Street, which takes us the rest of the way to Snow Hill.

Snow Hill is one of Birmingham's busiest thoroughfares, with something like 40 mail coaches and post chaises a day descending it on their way to Wolverhampton and points beyond. From our vantage point at the corner of Snow Hill and Brittle Street we have an excellent view of St. George's Church about three-quarters of a mile from here to the northwest—a structure finished just a few years ago in the Gothic style that's become all the rage among more progressive architects. On the corner itself stands the New Theatre for the School of Medicine and Surgery, which is just about to open: a poster on its entrance announces an inaugural lecture by W. S. Cox, F.R.S., to be offered on Sunday evening. Perhaps we'll return then to hear it, but for the moment the attractions that concern us are to be found elsewhere on Snow Hill. Turning first to our right, we find that we are only a few doors away from No. 7, the site of the Boulton family toyshop behind which stood the house where, on September 3, 1728, Matthew Boulton was born. Young Boulton took over the shop after his father's death in 1758, by which time the business extended all the way to Livery Street. But Boulton's ambitions far outstripped what any normal factory could accommodate, and in 1762 he began building the Soho works, which had their grand opening three years later. I think it instructive to realize that Boulton began as just another more-or-less ordinary toy maker's son, albeit one who gave himself a

leg up by his astute choice of partners, including James Watt and Boulton's second, accommodatingly rich wife, Anne.

You might have expected the Birmingham authorities to make a museum out of the old Boulton place, or at least to mount a plaque there, given the paucity of antiquities and monuments in this town. But so far at least no one seems to have bothered. Perhaps they'll get around to it eventually.¹⁵

Progressing down Snow Hill, we reach the intersection of Great Charles Street, a spacious and straight avenue that cuts the toy district into northern and southern halves and is dotted on both sides with factories and warehouses. On Great Charles Street alone there are now (in 1829, that is) no fewer than 8 button factories, and back during the heyday of the button trade, in the 1780s, there were perhaps a dozen more. At that time Great Charles Street was also the location of at least two, and perhaps as many as four, of Birmingham's token manufacturers, including its biggest, assuming one reckons either in terms of the total weight or in terms of the total number of tokens produced; but these mints were mainly located at the far western end of Great Charles, to which we will come around later, so I'll resist talking about them until then.

Let us now cross Snow Hill to Bath Street, the eastern continuation of Great Charles Street, which takes us to an exceedingly busy part of town jam-packed with toy and jewelry shops as well as establishments involved in gun-making. As we pass the entrance to Shadwell Street to our left we can see the Roman Chapel just around the bend, beyond and opposite which, at 48 Shadwell Street, stand the large brass works run by the four Heaton Bros.—John, William, George, and Reuben. But it is the fifth Heaton brother that interests us, and his shop is located just a bit further down Bath Street, at No. 71.

Ralph Heaton II has been at this address since 1817, having previously been employed by his father as a diesinker at the brass works on Shadwell Street. His shop is presently devoted to brass founding, stamping, and piercing, as well as to die sinking. But less than a quarter-century from now (if you will forgive my stepping a bit forward in time) it will be busy minting copper coins—500 tons of them—for the British government. And it will be doing so using the very same steam-powered coining and cutting-out presses that were employed at Soho over thirty years ago to fill that firm's first 500-ton regal coinage contract!¹⁶

¹⁵ No, they won't: eighteen years from the date of our tour, in 1847, the entire area between Livery Street and Snow Hill from Colmore Row to Great Charles Street will be razed to make way for Isambard Kingdom Brunel's red brick and bath-stone Great Western Railroad Station with its 500-foot-long curved glass roof. But never mind: Boulton's ghost will have the last laugh when GWR's first ceremonial train, having completed almost all of its 129-mile ride from Paddington Station without incident, manages to collide with another train in Banville, just beyond the outskirts of town. You might think that this would teach town officials a lesson, so that they will at least be careful to make a museum out of Boulton's final residence, Soho House. But even Soho House will be allowed to fall into disrepair until a private charity snatches it from the jaws of oblivion in the 1990s.

¹⁶ The story, in brief, is as follows: on April 1st, 1850 *Aris' Birmingham Gazette* carried a notice announcing that the Soho Mint's contents were to be auctioned off. This was not, Soho's fame notwithstanding, an April Fool's joke. On the morning of April 29th the mint building was opened for public inspection of its contents, and later that day Ralph Heaton II became the proud owner of four of Soho's coining presses as well as six of its blank-cutting machines, which he subsequently set up in his Bath Street shop. Within a year Heaton and Sons, as the firm was then styled, was fulfilling large orders for the governments of Australia and Chile, after which came a large order for copper blanks from the Royal Mint, followed by the above-mentioned coinage contract, which had the firm producing as much as 25 hundredweight (or about 110,000 pieces) of coin per day. By 1860 Heaton and Sons had outgrown its Bath Street facility, and relocated to a brand-new one-acre

Returning again to Snow Hill, and making our way toward its bottom, we arrive at the public weighing machine, with its fancy cast-iron weight-house embellished with figures of Justice (holding the inevitable balance) on pillars. Before it a log jam of carts and wagons spills into the street, obstructing traffic and forcing us to ply our way carefully along the street between wagon-loads of merchandize and piles of horse-jank. Safely back on the causeway, we arrive at 100 Snow Hill, on the eastern side of the street, which houses the large button-making firm of Hammond, Turner and Son. Bonham Hammond was another token producer during the '90s, who is known to have manufactured a single large issue of tokens only—the Leith Halfpenny of 1797, showing a ship at sea on its obverse and Britannia seated on its reverse. Besides his partnership with Turner (and, back around the turn of the century, a fellow named Dickenson) Hammond also ran his own gilt and plated button factory further along the way, at 11 Great Hampton Street, and it is conceivable that he made his tokens there rather than here on Snow Hill. Still, it would be nice to have a look inside the button works, if only the owners would let us. Unfortunately, they don't admit tourists, not (as is often the case) because they are jealous of their manufacturing secrets, but because they find that entertaining visitors slows things down (Osborne 1840, 228).

Just a bit further down the road, on the west side, is No. 107 Snow Hill. This was once the address of yet another button-maker turned token manufacturer named John Gimblett, Jr. Gimblett, like Hammond, is known to have been responsible for only one series of token coins—those issued by the Birmingham Workhouse in 1788. He was also, however, a significant producer of regal evasions.

Near the Birmingham Canal

As we reach the very bottom of Snow Hill, we find ourselves standing over the Birmingham Canal, which passes through thirteen descending locks (known as the "Farmer's Locks" and attended by lock-openers locally known, for some reason, as "rodneys") between the Crescent to the northwest and the Aston Road bridge 'ole (as the canal-men refer to it) to our southeast. Just beyond that the main line branches off to Fazeley, where it meets the Coventry Canal. The canal, which first opened for business in 1790, is now crowded with narrow (70' by 7') boats (not "barges"!), each still drawn by what Hutton described back in '83 as "something like the skeleton of a horse, covered with skin" (Drake 1825, 42), yet capable of conveying to Birmingham 50 tons or more of food or raw materials from London, finished goods from Hull, Manchester, and Liverpool, grain from Oxfordshire, or coals from Coventry:

Since the canal navigation,
Of coals we've the best in the nation,
Around the gay circle your bumpers then put
For the cut of all cuts is the Birmingham cut!¹⁷

plant on Icknield Street, where it long held the status of world's largest privately owned mint and where, as The Birmingham Mint, Ltd., it remains in business to this day, producing (among other things) blanks for the new Euro coins (Sweeny 1981, 3-12, and <http://www.the-birmingham-mint.co.uk/>).

¹⁷ From "The Birmingham Lads," written by Birmingham's own Poet (John) Freeth, upon the opening of the main Birmingham Canal in 1769.

This last item accounts for the concentration of steam engines along the canal, for, besides supplying water, the canal allows engine owners to avoid the considerable expense involved in transporting large quantities of coal over even short distances on land.

Surrounding the canal the tops of several tall, tapering smokestacks, rising from some of the town's many steam engines—there are perhaps 100 in Birmingham all told—can be seen, emitting columns of thick black smoke.¹⁸ Looking west we have, first of all, that of the Phoenix Iron Foundry to our left, at the corner of Snow Hill and Lionel Street. Standing on the opposite bank of the canal is a much older engine belonging to Samuel Parker, Miller and Corn Dealer, and behind it a still older one that is the power source for G.F. Muntz's rolling mill and wire-drawing plant at 65 Water Street. Further beyond that, from between the numerous warehouses, factories, and wharves lining the canal on both sides, at least a dozen more smokestacks are visible, including that of the Albion (corn) Mill, all the way down by Summer Row. We'll take a closer look at the Parker and Muntz engines in a moment. First, though, we'll continue across the canal to the three-pronged fork in the road consisting of Constitution Hill on the left and Summer Lane on the right, with Little Hampton Street in-between. This was the approximate location of the Salutation Inn, a favorite recreation spot (with a lovely garden and twin bowling-greens, among other attractions) back in the commercial coinage days but one that has been gone for some time now. In 1798 it was the scene of Birmingham's last-known occurrence of the despicable pastime (it hardly deserves to be called a "sport") known as bull baiting. In this instance the unfortunate bull, I'm happy to say, broke loose from its tethers, and was eventually rescued by a militia body known as the Birmingham Association, which managed to convey it to a makeshift pizzle¹⁹ set-up behind the old prison on Peck Lane. Birmingham authorities finally banned bull baiting in 1811, ahead (believe it or not) of the rest of England.

Were we to walk a short distance down Summer Lane we would soon find ourselves standing in the looming shadow of the Hospital (or the "Horsepickle," as the locals refer to it), to the support of which the triennial music festivals are devoted. But instead we stop just short of there, at the point where Hospital Street branches off from the left-hand side of Summer Lane. On this street lived the "artist" (as he is referred to in Chapman's 1801 *Directory*) known as John Gregory Hancock, Sr. The particular "artistry" in which Hancock excelled was that of coin- and medal-engraving; indeed he is generally considered to have been Birmingham's finest medallist, which is saying a lot, for Birmingham has had far more than its fair share of the world's greatest coin and medal designers. The many outstanding commercial coins whose dies Hancock designed here between 1787 and 1800 included most of the Parys Mine Druids as well as numerous commissions (among them the earlier Wilkinson commissions or "Willeys") for the Soho

¹⁸ The smoke would be even thicker were it not for the Birmingham Street Act passed toward the end of the reign of George III (62 Geo. 3d. s. 42), which required that steam engines "consume their own smoke," with fines imposed on incontinent engine owners. Still this early instance of pollution control did not suffice to prevent Carlyle from describing to his brother Birmingham's "Torrents of thick smoke, with ever and anon a burst of dingy flame...issuing from a thousand funnels" (quoted in Zuckerman and Eley 1979, 114).

¹⁹ Bull-yard (Brum)

Mint. After 1794 Hancock worked principally for Peter Kempson, although he is also credited with having manufactured tokens on his own.²⁰



The General Hospital

Although Hancock Sr. is generally considered to have been Birmingham's best token designer, his son, John Gregory Jr., at one point appeared likely to eclipse him, having engraved the dies for several private tokens at the turn of the century when he was less than ten years old! Sadly, nothing has been heard of the younger Hancock since then, and he is presumed to have died shortly after having raised eyebrows throughout Birmingham by his precocious feat.²¹

²⁰ Bell (1963) credits Hancock with having manufactured over 50 tons of tokens, making him the fourth largest commercial coin maker. Mitchiner (1998, 1996), however, treats him as a "lesser" token manufacturer, whose main contribution to commercial coinage consisted of dies that he supplied to other token makers.

²¹ I might as well confess that I find the whole Hancock Jr. story highly suspicious. As Mitchiner (1998, 2013) indicates, no one has ever been able to find out what happened to him, including token collector and cataloguer Thomas Sharp, who investigated the matter in 1834 when there were still several Hancocks living in Birmingham. In fact, West's 1830 Directory lists a "Hancock John Gregory, plated bead manufacturer" etc. on Bradford Street. Now, it is just possible that the senior John Gregory was still alive and in business then, despite having produced no known dies after 1815, and that he had taken on a new occupation; but my guess is that this was none other than the prodigal son himself, who despite his early promise decided to give up a career in die-sinking, so disappointing token enthusiasts that they decided that he had best disappear. (And no, I do not also believe that the moon landing was faked.)



Birmingham "Artists"
(from Bisset's Magnificent Directory)

One other address of note is worth mentioning before we head back to Snow Hill and points west. It is the former residence of Charles Twigg, a few doors away from Hancock's on Hospital Street. Twigg, a button maker who issued, but did not manufacture, his own tokens between 1790 and 1796 from his manufactory on Harper's Hill (near St. Paul's), was one of three entrepreneurs responsible for erecting the steam-powered rolling mill that now belongs to George Muntz. That mill occupies a very important place in the history of steam-power; but why don't we head back to Water Street to have a good look at it before I tell you why.

Pickard's Steam Engines

Standing at the corner of Snow Hill and Water Street, we are once again facing Parker's steam-powered corn mill. Its engine is the second-oldest rotary-motion engine in the world, having been erected here in 1783. Its builder and original owner was James Pickard, whose son, Thomas, owns the ironmongery warehouse we passed on Bull Street. Pickard also had a hand in building Birmingham's and the world's very first "rotative" steam engine, to which we'll come in a moment. But Pickard's Corn Mill and Bakehouse, as Parker's used to be known, is itself of considerable interest, partly because of its excellent brickwork, but mainly because it was the target, on three separate occasions during Pitt's "War for Humanity," of mob attacks triggered by grain shortages. The first of these took place in 1795, when rioters (most of them women, by the way) stormed the place inflicting heavy damage and destroying Pickard's account books after hearing the rumor that Pickard had buried a large stash of grain. At last the King's own Dragoons arrived, read the riot act, and proceeded to arrest several mob-leaders, who were being taken to the Peck Lane dungeon when the mob renewed their attack, forcing the soldiers to shoot and kill one of the rioters. In September 1800 virtually the same thing happened again, only this time mill employees themselves fired upon the looters, killing four. Finally, in June 1810, another mob assembled at the mill, only this time the Handsworth Volunteer Cavalry appeared on

time to prevent any damage, causing the mob to flee, with some of its leaders escaping arrest by secreting themselves deep within the canal bridge hole.

Moving on to 65 Water Street, G.F. Muntz's rolling mill is now one of 17 steam-powered rolling mills in Birmingham. But for many years it was the only source of manufactured metal in town, the alternative sources having all been water-powered mills located some distance away. George Muntz, a tall, brawny fellow,²² took over the mill from his father upon the latter's death in 1811. He is currently busy developing, here and in Swansea, his "yellow metal"—an alloy much cheaper than copper—for sheathing ship's bottoms.²³

Muntz's mill is open to the public, so we proceed inside to inspect the steam engine, with its central support wall about three stories high, made entirely of ceramic bricks, next to a smaller brick base from which the round top of a huge (13-foot diameter) haystack boiler, made from riveted plates of mild steel, protrudes.²⁴ We also watch ingot-rolls cast from copper cake being repeatedly passed through the mill's huge cast-iron "breaking-down" rollers until they become too hard to work. The metal is then annealed in the mill's huge furnace until it becomes ductile again. The blood-red strips are then removed from the furnace, allowed to cool somewhat, and passed through the breaking-down rollers again until they are ready for a final, cold run through the mill's polished steel rolls.

Muntz's mill was the brainchild of James Pickard and an inventor named Matthew Wasborough (or Wasbrough), of Bristol. Wasborough had had the idea of replacing a standard Newcomen reciprocating engine's connecting rod with a rack, which could be made to mesh with a large geared wheel fitted to a drive shaft. Having patented this device, along with a flywheel, in 1779, Wasborough joined forces with Pickard to erect a prototype engine. Pickard in turn convinced Charles Twigg—the button maker who later lived near Hancock, on Hospital Street—to grease the venture's wheels. Boulton and Watt, after hearing a Soho employee's report on the engine, dismissed it as a "noisy, disorderly bad machine," and went calmly to work developing their own rotative-motion engine. Then Pickard drew an ace from his sleeve: in August 1780 he managed to patent a rotary-drive mechanism consisting of a quiet, orderly crank—a rather obvious solution Watt himself must have been contemplating. The patent infuriated Watt, who is supposed to have complained (with an inconsistency so evidently driven by despair that it is almost touching) that (1) no patent should have been granted for something any fool could have thought of and (2) that Pickard had stolen the idea from a Soho employee who blabbed unwittingly to one of Pickard's spies between quarts of stingo at a Handsworth ale-house.²⁵

²² Indeed, in Victorian times, "a Muntz" will come to refer, in Midlands slang, to any strapper.

²³ He will patent it in 1832, and it will make him a power of money, eventually helping him to land a spot in Parliament as Thomas Attwood's successor.

²⁴ These details are from Hulse (2001), who has lovingly re-constructed the Pickard-Wasborough-Twigg engine in miniature 1/16 scale, individual ceramic bricks and all!

²⁵ As Eric Roll (1930, 109) has observed, "the fact that Watt, usually over anxious to secure patents for the slightest improvement, had not done this [with respect to his rotary-motion drive mechanism], speaks certainly against him."

That bare-faced and utterly unreliable Victorian hagiographer Samuel Smiles (1866) actually has Pickard himself slip into the Wagon and Horses Inn to suck the brains of loose-lipped Soho mechanic Dan Cartright. Having thus learned about Watt's rotative-engine plans (which, according to Smiles, supplied Pickard with his first inkling that steam could actually be used to rotate a shaft), Pickard is supposed to have posted straight to London to secure his crank patent. This is all "patent nonsense," to make a bad pun, or

The Pickard-Twigg-Wasborough engine was originally built largely for the purpose it still serves, that is, to power four pairs of rolls. But the 14 horsepower it generated when first erected were applied to other purposes as well, as is made clear in a 1783 advertisement published in *Bailey's Directory*:

Charles Twigg and Co., Rollers of metal, Grinders and Borers of Gun Barrels, at the Steam Mill, Snow Hill. N.B.— This mill is erected for the above purposes, and also for the polishing of steel goods, finishing buckles, buckle chapes, and a variety of other articles usually done per foot lathes. The whole is worked by a steam engine, and saves manufacturers the trouble of sending several miles into the country, to water mills (Aitken 1866, 242-3).

Twigg and Co. also "let" power to other users, by directing it through shafts to nearby workrooms that could be rented by the day or week.

We've now been lingering around these two steam mills for quite some time; and yet, as far as can be determined, neither of them has ever been directly employed in making coins of any kind. So why have I made such a fuss about them? Simply, because they housed the *only* steam engines to be found in the Birmingham toy district prior to 1800, and the only ones located near any of Birmingham's token-makers, excluding the Soho Mint of course. Why does this matter? Because various numismatists and economic historians have assumed that all or at least most of the 18th-century commercial coin makers made use of steam-driven coinage presses like those employed at the Soho Mint. That assumption has, in turn, led to some serious errors concerning just how commercial coiners succeeded, where the Royal Mint had long failed, in supplying Great Britain with reliable small change.²⁶

To Summer Row by Way of Lionel

It is time we left Muntz's mill, continuing east on Water Street and then turning south on Livery, taking a moment to notice the small but well-tended gardens in front of the houses here. Such gardens were once typical throughout town, but are now relatively scarce. At the corner of Livery and Lionel Streets is the Soho warehouse and showroom, where some of the factory's smaller products (no steam engines, alas!) are on display. We skip going in (for I have something better in mind), and instead direct our attention further west, all the way to the court of No. 4, near Summer Row. This is the die-sinking establishment of George and William Henry Wyon. They are members of the

what is known in Birmingham as a bag of moonshine: there is little doubt that Pickard and Wasborough were, in fact, the original inventors of the rotary steam engine (Prosser 1881, 32-3; for further details see Hulse 2001). But the damage to Pickard and Wasborough's reputation has proven difficult to repair, with numerous writers since Smiles neglecting them entirely and crediting Boulton and Watt with what was in truth their invention. Some imagine that Watt's alternative "sun and planet" apparatus, which he came up with to circumvent Pickard's crank patent, was somehow better than a plain old crank (it was not, and it wasn't Watt's own invention either, for that matter), while others (e.g. Skipp 1997) go so far as to credit Soho with having built the Pickard-Wasborough-Twigg engine itself!

²⁶ See my paper, "Steam, Hot Air, and the Gold Standard," available at <http://www.terry.uga.edu/~selgin/>

extraordinary Wyon clan of coin die engravers, some of whom played a major role during the commercial coinage episode.²⁷

The founder of the clan, George Wyon III, ran the family die-engraving business at 2 Temple St. between 1784 and 1789. During the '90s his older sons, Peter and Thomas, sank dies for many copper tokens and medals, with Peter specializing in the former (he worked mainly for Kempson and Lutwyche) and Thomas in the latter. When Wyon senior died in 1797 they took over the family business, which by then had shifted to Lionel Street. In 1800 the brothers decided to go their separate ways, with Thomas moving to London together with his son and apprentice, Thomas Jr. (b. 1792) and Peter staying in Birmingham. Peter then went to work at Soho, where he became responsible for some of that firm's most beautiful coins and medals (including its 1809 Memorial Portrait Medallion of Matthew Boulton), leaving the old family engraving business to his younger brother George Wyon IV, who runs it still with William Henry, his son. Peter passed away in 1822 at his home on Cock Street, behind St. Paul's. Thomas Jr., in the meantime, was appointed engraver to the Royal Mint in 1811 at 19 years of age; four years later, he was made *chief* engraver. Just before then his father, Thomas Sr., got his own Mint appointment as Chief-Engraver of His Majesty's Seals. Tragically, Thomas Jr. died just a year after that, at age 25; his post at the Royal Mint afterwards remained vacant for several years until being filled, just last year, by his cousin William.²⁸

Heading south along Summer Row until it becomes Conegreve Street, we find ourselves on Great Charles Street once again. The Parys Mine Company mint, which was Birmingham's most prolific mint of all, while it lasted, was located at No. 9 Great Charles Street, just west of Conegreve. It was at this now unassuming, residential address that Thomas Williams—England's "Copper King," as Boulton called him—had most of his firm's high-quality Druid (or Anglesey) pennies and halfpence made—over 300 tons of them, by some estimates, all of which were made, incredibly enough, between 1787 and 1789, when Williams agreed to quit the coining business and to let Soho coin his firm's tokens instead.

Moving further east, No. 20 Great Charles Street, which is presently occupied by a tin-plate worker named William Maullin, was once the address of Obediah and John Westwood.²⁹ The "ingenious" but "shabby" John Westwood (the "coinage" is once again Boulton's)³⁰ came to be known as a first-rate medallist back in 1769, when, operating out of a shop on Colmore Row (which was then known as Newhall Walk), he struck copper, silver, and (on special order only) gold portrait medals of Shakespeare to coincide with the Stratford Jubilee. In 1786 Westwood, who had by then shifted to the Great Charles Street address, had been mainly engaged in metal casting and rolling when he got involved in token production. Westwood was, in fact, the first of the commercial coiners to offer to coin money on behalf of the government; but having failed in his bid, he tried for the next-

²⁷ Forrer's *Biographical Dictionary of Medallists* (1970, v. 6) devotes over 100 pages to members of this extraordinary family alone! Mitchiner (1998, 1997-98) gives a fairly exhaustive account of Wyon family members but does not mention the two Wyons present in Birmingham in 1829.

²⁸ Thomas Wyon Senior will himself pass away in London in 1830.

²⁹ Some sources give the Westwood's address as 22 Great Charles Street. In October of 1829 this address was occupied by a merchant named Hayes, whereas in 1801 its occupant was a button maker named Nicklin. Sometime around the mid-1830s, 22 Great Charles Street will itself become a button-making establishment, leading one to conclude that, at one time or another, *every* address on Great Charles Street has been devoted to making buttons. In any event, I have no idea which Westwood address is the correct one. Perhaps both were.

³⁰ See Doty (2000, 15).

JOSEPH HADLEY,
 No. 20, GREAT CHARLES STREET,
BIRMINGHAM.
 GRANDSON OF THE LATE JOSEPH HADLEY,
 ORIGINAL
 MANUFACTURER OF EVERY VARIETY
 OF
 FANCY AND PLAIN
BUTTON MOULDS,
ALSO OF
 BONE, HORN, AND WOOD
BUTTONS.

best thing, which was to offer to produce copper tokens for two of the largest private token issuers: Thomas Williams' Parys Mine Company (whose business he failed to gain) and one of its rivals, Roe & Company.

Westwood's engagement with the last-named firm is of particular interest, as it illustrates how several firms might cooperate (or fail to do so) in producing a single order of tokens. Roe & Company, from which Westwood purchased much of his copper cake, placed an order with him in 1789 for over 20 tons of halfpenny tokens to be issued by its Macclesfield copper mine; this was to be followed by a second large order of tokens for the Cronebane mine. (Afterwards Roe & Co. changed its mind, requesting that the Cronebane tokens be

given priority.) Westwood in turn struck an agreement with Boulton: he, Westwood, would roll the necessary copper fillets and prepare blanks from them with appropriately inscribed edges ("Payable at Cronebane or in Dublin.X."). He would then deliver the blanks to Soho for striking on its brand-new steam-powered presses.³¹ Westwood and Boulton would split Roe & Company's payment of £36 10s 0d/ton, with Boulton paying his part in advance to Westwood in exchange for delivered blanks, and then collecting the whole from Roe & Company upon delivering the finished coins.

By September 1789, Boulton had shipped 20 tons, 14 cwt., 1 quarter, 25 lbs., and 2 oz. of Cronebane tokens to Roe & Company, the total invoice charge for which was £756-8-3d—half to cover Boulton's own coinage expenses and profit, the other to reimburse him for the cost of the blanks acquired from Westwood. By that time, however, Westwood was hard up, and on December 7, the *Gazette* carried a notice to the effect that he, John Westwood, Castor of Metals, had gone to the dogs. He had done so, moreover, owing Roe & Company money for copper cake he had purchased from it. In consequence, the mining firm, which had still to pay for the tokens Boulton had shipped to it, refused to pay

³¹ That's right, brand new: the Cronebane halfpennies were the first coins ever to be produced with the aid of steam power.

Westwood's half of the invoice, forcing poor Boulton to gather the rest, or as much of it as he could, from Westwood's estate after he died in 1792.³²

There are two lessons to be drawn from this story. One is: never pay anyone in advance if you can help it. The other, which matters more to us, is that it was at least *sometimes* economical to have different steps of coin production undertaken by different, specialized firms, with one firm producing copper cake from ore, another rolling the copper into sheets and, perhaps, cutting the sheets into fillets and planchets, another preparing the master dies, still another striking the coins themselves, and, finally, yet another handling the actual issuance and redemption of the coins. Such specialization stands in marked contrast to the way in which most government mints operate at the time of our tour, and also in contrast to the way in which Soho would operate following the Westwood imbroglio.

John's brother Obediah survived him and kept the family business going at its Great Charles Street address 1793 to 1797, producing commercial coins there until 1794. Eventually Obediah was joined by John Westwood Jr., the nephew of John Sr., who had worked at Soho earlier in the present century. The two continued working together as medallists until just two years ago, when Obediah retired. As for John Westwood Jr., he is presently set up as a "bone button manufacturer" on Great Brook Street.

A third token maker who may have done business on Great Charles Street was Joseph Kendrick. Kendrick manufactured several tokens of indifferent quality before reverting to button making, which was what he was up to, according to Chapman's *Directory*, at No. 36 Great Charles in 1801. The same source suggests that Great Charles Street may also have been home to a fourth token-making enterprise as well: James Pitt was making buttons here (as well as at 29 Newhall Street, where he had a partnership with someone named Cooke) in 1801, having manufactured several series of token during the later '90s, including halfpennies made using dies prepared by Thomas Wyon that were issued in Portsmouth, Portsea, and Crewkerne. Pitt may also have been involved in making counterfeit regal coins, if we are to believe the testimony of rival token manufacturer Matthew Boulton, and assuming that he is in fact the same "Pitt" referred to therein: late in 1798 Boulton was given permission by the Birmingham magistrate to lead raids on three separate alleged counterfeiting operations. In his report concerning the raids, sent to the Committee of Council appointed to take into Consideration the state of Coins of this Realm on January 31st, 1799, Boulton indicated that two of the three had been nabbed, one of whom—Boulton called him an "old offender"—was named Pitt. The third, whose name was Thomas Nichols, managed to save his bacon in a manner that, in Boulton's description, reads like something out of a shilling shocker: according to Boulton, a squadron of his men went to Nichol's house

& were informed that he was in the upper most Shop. They mounted & entered, but it was empty. Upon observing a secret door, they attempted to pass, but

³² The details of Boulton's dealings with Westwood are taken from David Vice (1991, 2-4). Unless I am mistaken, there is a tragic element to Westwood's bankruptcy that has gone unnoticed in the numismatic literature: in 1783, he had acquired a patent for special corrosion-resistant copper bolts he had invented to take the place of iron ones for fastening ship timbers (Prosser 1881, 127; see also Pye 1825, 46). The Royal Navy took its time in trying the bolts; but by the end of the century they had proven an "incalculable advantage" in vying with the French fleet and were in universal use—too late, alas, to do poor Westwood any good.

found some resistance on ye other side, & a struggle ensued at length ye Constable thrust his shaft through, & upon the sight of it Nicholls [sic], like Harlequin, jumped through a door upon a ladder, which he instantly kicked down and then descended into a lower room in which there was no door, & he escaped through a Window contrived for that purpose (Dickinson 1936, 153).

Boulton, of course, had more than the usual patriotic reasons for wishing to put Pitt, Nichols, and other counterfeiterers out of business: besides violating the Royal prerogative of coinage, they were undermining the demand for Soho's own copper coin!³³

One more block along Great Charles Street beyond the Newhall-Street rise takes us to Church Street, appropriately so named since it runs between St. Philip's to the south and St. Paul's to the north. Time and sore feet prevent us from visiting the latter church, where Boulton sat at pew No. 23 at the front, and Watt had purchased (but seldom occupied) No. 100 toward the back; so we will have to miss its beautiful "Conversion of St. Paul" in painted glass, the handiwork of a Soho artist named Francis Eginton. Instead, we note that Church Street also led to the door of a token die engraver named Charles James, who was supposedly active here in the 1780s. I say supposedly because the exact address we have for him, *Cart's Yard*, Church Street, is one I am unable to locate: there is a street called Carr's Lane, which used to be known as "God's Cart Lane," but it is almost a third of a mile away, near Dale End. Anyway, James was somewhere in Birmingham until 1790, having moved at that date to London where, at 6 Martlett Court Bow Street, he worked chiefly for Peter Skidmore—a notorious maker of mules.

But say, it's four o'clock, and I'm feeling pretty baked. How about grabbing a bite to eat and a pint of ale, or a "point" of ale, as the locals put it? Sounds good? Let's see if this workman coming our way can direct us to some good stuff.

"Say, mate, where's the best tap?"

"There's a topping saloon at Wilday's Hotel, on Temple Street."

"Is there anything closer and less expensive?"

"Well," he says, looking a bit disappointed, "I s'pose ye might try the tidy smoke shop right anight 'ere on Chairch Street. T'aint but a twenny-yard walk."

"Thanks!"

Did you notice, by the way, how green that fellow looked? That's brass powder—he must be coming from one of the brassworks on Lionel Street. Aha: here it is, the Roe-Buck Tavern. Let's have a look.

³³ James Pitt's presence on Great Charles Street in 1801 is not itself inconsistent with his having been apprehended while counterfeiting copper coins just a few years before: the penalties exacted on those caught forging regal copper were typically light ones; it was forgers of precious-metal coin and (especially) Bank of England notes who were most likely to end up dying of hempen fever. I plan to address the subject of counterfeiting at length in a separate chapter of my book.

SKIDMORE CHURCHES IN THE CITY OF LONDON

St Benet, Pauls Wharf

This most attractive church is sadly surrounded by the 'race track' of Queen Victoria Street. Originally built in the 12th century it was like most, a victim of the Great Fire. Rebuilding started in 1677 and this untypical Wren church opened in 1683 at a cost of £3,328 18s 10d. It has a Dutch looking exterior with dark red brick broad eaves, garlands above the round headed windows, stone quoins to the corners of the brickwork and a little lead dome and steeple.

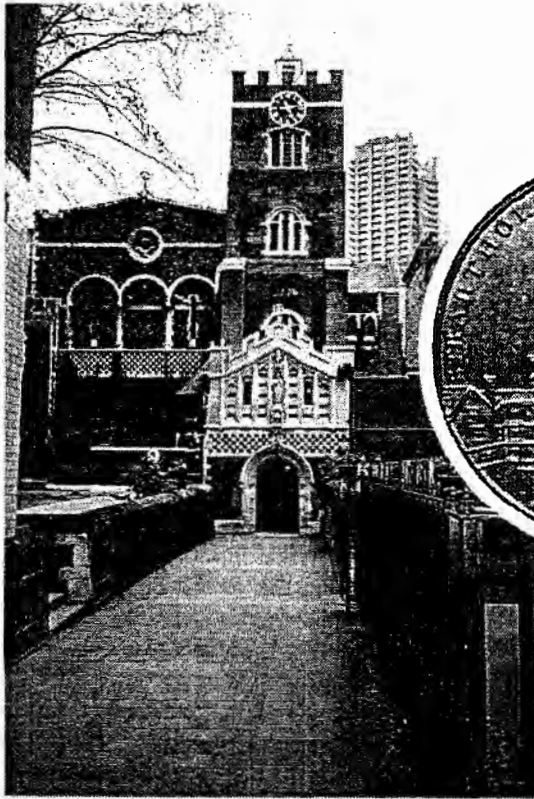
The interior is almost square and corinthian columns support the galleries and the altar-piece dominates the church above an elaborate 17th century altar table.

There are many monuments; including one to Inigo Jones who was buried in the chancel of the old church; Henry Fielding married his first wife's former maid here in 1747.

In 1879 the parish was united with that of St Nicholas Cole Abbey and St Benet's was scheduled for demolition, fortunately it became the London Church of the Welsh Episcopalians and is still the Metropolitan Welsh Church within the Church of England London Diocese. Services are conducted in Welsh.



St Bartholomew-The-Great



Rahere, a courtier of Henry I, had a vision of St Bartholomew, who told him to found a priory on the Smooth Field (Smithfield). He became the first prior and built a choir ambulatory and Lady Chapel, and spent much of his time

looking after poor men and this

was the beginning of St Bartholomew's hospital, just west of the church.

The Lady Chapel was rebuilt in 1336 and in the early 15th century the east wall of the choir rebuilt as well as the bell tower, clerestory cloister and chapter house. The

Central Tower was removed and a new one built with a wooden

turret and gilded nave in 1628, which

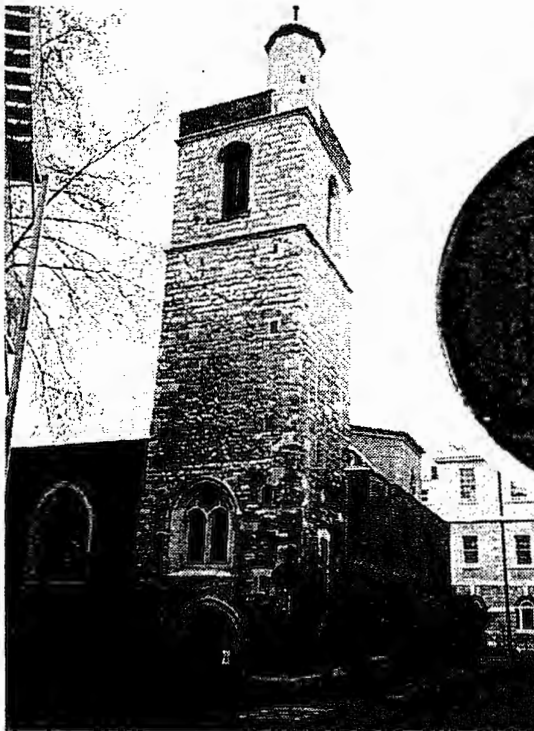
explains the date on the token. It contains five medieval bells, the oldest complete ring in London.

Sir Aston Webb completed much restoration in 1893, including the Porch, West Front and other flint refacings of the church. Fortunately it

came through the Blitz unscathed. At one time there was a print works in the Lady Chapel where Benjamin Franklin worked and in various other parts stables, blacksmiths shop, school and carpenters workshop. Rahere's tomb is 16th century and William Hogarth was christened there in 1697. Sir William Mildmay, founder of Emmanuel College Cambridge, has a monument there.



St Bartholomew-The-Less



This small church was founded in 1184 as a chapel of St Bartholomew's Hospital, its 15th century Tower and arches below

still remain. The interior was rebuilt as an octagon within

a square by George Dance Junior in 1789. The

nave was rebuilt in stone by Thomas Hardwick following Dance's plan

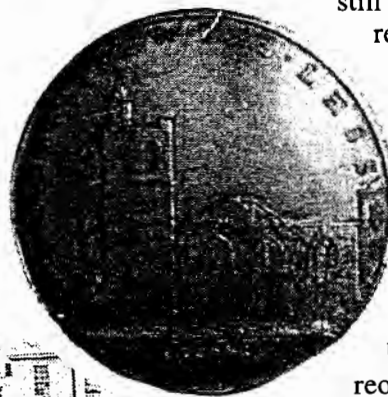
in 1823-5. The fittings are mostly Victorian. It

suffered much bomb damage and was restored

by Seely and Paget and reopened in 1951.

Inigo Jones was christened there in 1573 and numerous physicians and surgeons

from the hospital are buried there.



SIMON MONKS

The Sawbridgeworth 1d Copies ("Additional Thoughts") - Part 6

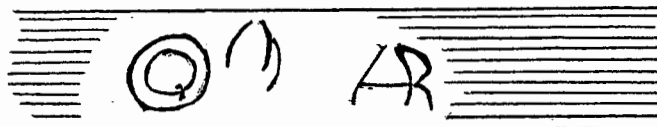
Tom Fredette

New information sent to me requires an Update and a summary. But first - some background on this project. Originally, I assumed that since the only copy of this penny to which I had access was hallmarked and numbered under the bust, that they all were :



So it seemed that they would, with the help of the membership, be easy to locate. As it is with most projects and ideas, this one took on a life of its own and shot me off in a direction different from the one which I had intended. Over time, it appeared that it wasn't location that was the project but the markings on the copies that seemed to be more important and of interest. Over the months, with the help of a number of CTCC members, additional information along this line has developed. It now forms a small body of knowledge and lets us look at the Sawbridgeworth 1d and its copies in another way.

In addition to the markings illustrated above, the following impressions were noted in a subsequent issue of the Journal:



*No word COPY ** "tail" on the Q could be "a piece of stray metal"

The latest revelation to be shared comes from Dr. Gary Siro. Recently, he acquired several copies which are marked in the following manner:



edge markings



Gary's feelings, in consultation with other members of the CTCC is that these copies are not original Deane copies but are "copies of copies." So, perhaps a summary of the information which is developing would be in order:

1. Possibly not all of the Sawbridgeworth 1d copies are "original" Deane copies.
2. Some may be "copies of copies."
3. Only the "first ten or so" copies were marked under the bust. *Some* were numbered.
4. Not all numbered copies show the word **COPY**.
5. Some copies are marked on the edge.
6. Not all edge-marked copies show the word **COPY**.
7. On some copies the edge marks are visible, but illegible.
8. Some copies may never have been marked at all.

It seems to this writer that what is evolving (or already has evolved) is at least a two-tiered arrangement for these token copies. It would make sense. They have a value in their own right and may be as close to the original as some of us will ever own. But can some of them be closer than others?

Invariably, the more information one has the more questions one can think of. Since I am no expert on this subject, I leave it to the membership to ponder the ramifications of this new information for now, and to ponder - even speculate as I have been doing - the meaning of it.

See previous "Additional Thoughts" in issues:

Number 13, September, 1999

Number 15, March, 2000

Number 17, September, 2000

Number 18, December, 2000

Number 20, Summer, 2001

Editor's Note: At the 2001 Atlanta ANA Patrick Deane showed me a Sawbridgeworth electrotpe of inferior quality to his 'original' electrotypes. He had apparently produced them in quantity and told me he intended to give one away free as a bonus with each order he received. I do not know how many were produced or how many have been distributed. There clearly was no intention to deceive, but apparently some confusion is arising as I have seen these pieces being offered on Ebay and elsewhere. If you decide to acquire a Sawbridgeworth electrotpe, be sure what you are buying!

THE TOKEN EXCHANGE AND MART

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